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**Morse Submits Evidence That War Is Already Being Extended Secretly Into North Vietnam, Page 2**

# I. F. Stone's Weekly

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# Time We Caught Up To The Rest of the Capitalist World

The war on poverty may become more manageable if we begin by regarding ours as an underdeveloped country—underdeveloped in its ideas. For a half century, since the outbreak of the first World War, the business man has brainwashed this country into so pious a belief in something called free enterprise that we are incapable of facing the real problems of a real world. A simple-minded horror of socialism and a simple-minded faith that the business man knows best are at the root of our troubles in foreign and domestic policy. It explains, for example, our slap-happy attitude toward the Brazilian coup, and it explains why the war on poverty proceeds in a benevolent fog.

## A Real Political Difference at Last

This fog will not clear up until we begin to recognize that unaided free enterprise is failing, and that we cannot successfully wage the war on poverty without adopting "socialistic" measures, such as overall economic planning through the Federal government. It is the great virtue of the report filed by the Senate's subcommittee on employment and manpower under Senator Clark (*D. Pa.*) that it says this, though tentatively and gingerly. Indeed it opens up, for a change, a meaningful difference in our two party system, long stalled on a stale dead center. Here the five other Democrats on the subcommittee—Randolph, *W. Va.*, McNamara, *Mich.*, Pell, *R.I.*, Kennedy, *Mass.*, and Metcalf, *Mont.*—stand with the chairman for reactivating the Employment Act of 1946 and making it an instrument of economic planning. Of the three Republicans, Prouty of Vt. and Jordan of Idaho, attack this as "guided capitalism" while the third, Javits of New York, oscillates between his liberal insights and his need to keep his party card. On the one hand he recognizes that the government "must play its own positive role in the private sector of the economy." On the other hand he feels that "the subcommittee's majority proposal implies a note of rigidity and planning inconsistent with a free economy." It's hard to be a Republican.

It's also not easy to be a liberal Democrat. Note the word "implied" in that last quotation from Javits. The majority were so nervous about their main recommendation that they buried it in a very muffled report—somewhat like a man trying to talk through a heavy blanket—and left the most important observations to implication. It was left to the minority to state clearly what the majority was afraid to say. This is how Prouty and Jordan put it. "Implicit in the majority's proposals," they wrote, "is the assumption that if the establishment of overall national economic goals is desirable, then the establishment of growth targets for specific industries would be even more desirable." So it would.

If our mixed society were invigorated by an infusion of socialist thinking, we would recognize boldly that poverty represents an untapped market, that unemployed hands are potential wealth, that the presence of idle facilities and resources they can work upon, is not a curse but an opportunity. The Federal government ought to do more than set general goals. There is no reason why it cannot inventory specific needs for specific industries. If we knew how many pairs of shoes, how much plumbing, how much lumber, and how much clothing would be needed to raise the miserable millions on the fringe of our society to decent living standards, we would see the market and the jobs the war on poverty could open.

The majority nowhere dare speak in such concrete terms. But the mere suspicion of such a possibility fills the minority with alarm. In sounding it they make a revealing admission. This admission shows how backward our own country is compared with the other advanced capitalist countries. "It is not too much to say," Senators Prouty and Jordan protest, "that the majority's recommendations eventually would replace our system of decentralized decision-making by millions of individuals and businesses with a system of economic planning and control by the Central Government. *This,*" they then admit, *"is the drift of affairs in other Western countries.* [Our italics.] The U.S. surely will be pushed in the same direction if the economic planners among us have their way."

To understand this more fully let us turn back to the majority report. The majority report recommends action to reduce the level of unemployment in this country to 3% by 1968. This, under the most optimistic assumptions, will require a $5 billion dollar a year increase in Federal expenditures and considerable "guidance" from the Federal government. Actually (according to a financial page column by Harvey H. Segal in the *Washington Post* April 20) unemployment has fallen below 3% in the past half century only

*(Continued on Page Four)*

### When LeMay Asked for 100 Megatons

**Mr. MAHON (D. Tex. Chrm. Subcom. on Defense Appropriations): You were talking about the Russians being able to do this and that. As a result of this philosophy of what the Russians could do a few years ago we developed the bomber gap and we appropriated $800 million, I believe, to stop the bomber gap and later we were told there was no bomber gap.**

**As a result of this same reasoning as to what the Russians could do, we developed the missile gap. Everyone admitted generally speaking there was a missile gap. Now we come along later and everyone says there never was a missile gap.**

**Now, are you by this testimony opening up a so-called megatonnage gap which will never occur and which will be just as phony as the bomber and the missile gap?**

**Gen. LeMay: This is entirely possible, Mr. Chairman.**

*—1965 Defense Budget hearings rel. April 14.*



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**Another Urgent Peace Warning The Press Ignored, Despite Startling Revelations**

# Morse Declares War Already Being Extended Secretly into North Vietnam

**The press blackout on the handful of Senators opposing the war in Vietnam is scandalous. Senator Gruening of Alaska called attention April 15 to the fact that American casualties this year were twice those of last and said that in his five years in the Senate "I have never received mail comparable in volume and in virtual unanimity to the recommendation I made on March 10 that the U.S. should get out of South Vietnam." This is another index of how poorly the press reflects opinion. The worst example of suppression was the failure to report Senator Morse's speech of April 14 with its sensational revelations from Aviation Week. We give the gist of this in the abridgement and the box below.**

## By Wayne Morse

In the April 6 issue of Aviation Week (see box below) there is a very interesting article. I do not know how it happened to get into print. The story points out that operations have gone beyond the borders of South Vietnam. That has been a growing practice. I am reading these paragraphs because I have heard Senators say in the cloakroom that they really do not think there is much danger that the war will be escalated into North Vietnam. If the advocates of our present policy could only get a wide section of American public support for that kind of operation, we would start losing American boys by the scores.

### Nuclear Weapons to Be Used

Mr. President, we cannot answer charges that will be made against us if we escalate the war into North Vietnam. If we escalate it into North Vietnam, I warn the Senate that the plan is to use nuclear weapons. I have been heard to say before that if we drop nuclear weapons on North Vietnam, we had better start looking around the world for friends.

In looking at the consequences if we used nuclear weapons to escalate this war into North Vietnam, we ought to be forthright enough as a nation to say, "We want to do everything we can to try to settle this dispute in South Vietnam by resorting to peaceful procedures of international law." We have not tried that. We have not even tried to use it. We have not endeavored to create a SEATO trusteeship, or to pursue the meaning of what de Gaulle had in mind concerning a program for neutralizing this area of the world.

The newspapers today stated that there is some evidence the Vietcongs are trained in North Vietnam. I do not think there is any doubt about that—just as the South Vietnamese are trained by U.S. military. All that means is that two foreign powers are training the participants in a civil war.

I am greatly concerned about the danger of escalating the war. I think we ought to give a great deal of heed to the article from which I read.

The article shows that we have already aided and abetted the extension of the war beyond the borders of South Vietnam. I am fearful that as the proof of that becomes clearly established—as I believe it can be—we may wake up some morning to find charges being levelled against us in the United Nations because I do not believe we have any international law basis for being in South Vietnam as a combatant.

### Better Recheck Those Computers

*"Today the government of General Khanh is vigorously rebuilding the machinery of administration. . . . He is an able and energetic leader. He has demonstrated his grasp. . . ."*

*—Secretary McNamara: speech on Vietnam, Mar. 26*

**SAIGON—Vietnamese political observers say a coup against Premier Maj. Gen. Nguyen Khanh is only a matter of time. These observers, who accurately predicted the two previous coups, feel a third coup is inevitable — either through assassination or military might. In fact these observers predict a fourth coup: 'The next coup will solve nothing. Anyone can seize power, but no one has enough support to stay in.' Gen. Khanh is concerned enough to sleep in a different house each night, to admit to foreign correspondents that his wife is worried and to house her and their 4 children 350 miles from Saigon."**

*—New York Herald-Tribune, April 19.*

## Aviation Week Disclosures Show McNamara Not Telling The Truth

**Saigon—War against the Communists already has erupted over the borders of South Vietnam in hit-and-run guerrilla raids and infiltration moves as far north as China. . . . With U.S. backing in aircraft, weapons and money, an estimated 50,000 elite South Vietnamese troops are being trained to take the offensive in over-the-border strikes at Communist supply centers and communications routes. Despite Defense Secretary McNamara's implication in Washington March 26 that the decision has not yet been made to extend the war, it is known here that guerrilla strikes against the Communists have been increasing since last summer. . . .**

**Key factor in the current raids is airlift provided by Air America, a U.S. cargo company incorporated in Delaware under a maze of legal obscurities that camouflage its U.S. government sponsorship. . . . U.S. military advisers here are optimistic that extending the war beyond the borders, plus a stable government in Saigon, will force the Communist insurgency to collapse in a year. . . .**

**Special forces, which now constitute one-tenth of the half million South Vietnamese under arms, are essentially airborne troops not connected with any formal military organization. They rely on Air America. . . . In its open operations Air America is a parent company of the Civil Air Transport (CAT) airline. . . . But in its covert operations, Air America uses numerous secret airstrips in South Vietnam and Thailand. . . .**

**Hub of Air America's activities in Southeast Asia—open and secret—is Din Muang airport at Bangkok, Thailand. . . . Southern Laos, the principal pathway for reinforcements from North to South Vietnam, is only 125 miles wide. By operating from fields in Eastern Thailand and from the northern part of South Vietnam, Air America can penetrate to the interior of Laos on relatively short flights. . . .**

**Air America has been flying in Laos under charter to the U.S. Aid Mission in Vientiane (Laos). Much of this work consisted of hauling medicines, food and clothing to refugees of the Laotian civil war. On March 18, after protests by the Communist Pathet Lao that Air America was mixing its relief airlift with military airlift, Seaboard World Services was hired for the refugee airlift job. . . .**

**Last Fall when U.S. officials decided that it was impossible to win the war by confining it inside South Vietnamese borders, they began an expanded program of training the special guerrilla forces at secret bases. Courses emphasized techniques of operating beyond national borders."**

*—"South Vietnamese Raiders Extending War" from Aviation Week (April 6).*

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**A Step-by-Step Account of How A Phoney Story Was Deflated**

# Theodore Draper's "Scoop" About A Secret U.S. Aid Offer to Castro

The phoniest yarn of the past week was Max Frankel's page one story in the *New York Times* April 13 on Theodore Draper's article, "Fulbright and Cuba" in the *New Leader* of that date. Draper claimed that just before Castro closed his trade agreement with Mikoyan in February of 1960, "the U.S. made an effort—until now a closely guarded secret on both sides—to offer Fidel Castro's regime aid and cooperation." Frankel wrapped this all up as a work of high scholarship.

## Weasel Words at State Dept.

The State Department's reaction that day was as phoney. Its spokesman, when asked about the story, said the U.S. in 1959 and early 1960 had "repeatedly . . . indicated to the Cuban government its desire to hold full and frank discussions." But in the course of questioning he admitted that in these "exploratory exchanges . . . the question of U.S. aid did not arise."

Next day the State Department was asked about a follow-up story from Roy Rubottom, then Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs. Rubottom claimed he had offered Castro aid in that period. The spokesman said that during Castro's visit here in April, 1959, Rubottom met with some of the officials who accompanied Castro "and invited them to indicate Cuba's needs." He said the Cubans "rebuffed Mr. Rubottom's offer." The next question was, "Can you say how?" The answer was, "I would assume by simply being unresponsive." This colloquy followed:

**"Q. Well, what does that mean? Why indicate Cuba's needs? What types of needs are you referring to there?**

**"A. In terms of economic programs.**

**"Q. Are you suggesting this was the last attempt ever made with the Castro government?**

**"A. Yes, sir.**

**"Q. Well how does that fit in with your statement yesterday that no aid was offered to them?**

**"A. The matter at hand yesterday was the story involving a year later, which was the subject of a news story.**

**"Q. Can you be more specific about this offer, Bob? You say 'invited them to indicate Cuba's needs.' Was this a formal session with a formal presentation, and an extensive discussion or just a brief—**

**"A. Well it was formal in the sense that it invited a submission of some ideas on areas in which the U.S. could be helpful.**

After the spokesman admitted that Castro himself was not present at these "discussions," another question finally cut through the fog to solid ground:

**"Q. Was there ever a time in which the U.S. indicated its desire to talk about Cuba's economic needs to Fidel Castro himself?**

**"A. Not that I am aware of."**

Next day the *New York Times* (April 15) printed a letter from Sergio Rojas Santamarina, a former Cuban Ambassador who in June 1960 took refugee in the Argentine embassy in Havana. He claimed the Argentine Ambassador as intermediary for U.S. Ambassador Bonsal offered Castro $300,000,000 in U.S. aid if Castro would end his "vicious campaigning" against the U.S. and negotiate outstanding differences. But when the former Argentine ambassador himself was interviewed (*New York Times,* April 19) he denied that he had conveyed any "specific offer of financial aid" in his talks with Castro.

## Lest Cuba Flourish

**"Bleak as this sounds, U.S. officials hasten to disavow any notion that economic woes threaten Castro's downfall. . . . The Castro government can probably claim some recent headway in improving the lot of the average Cuban. . . . Distribution problems are being untangled; transportation is improving; rationing may even be eased on some items this year. 'You just can't sink this island economically,' says one veteran of the Cuban scene. Adds a colleague, 'Every day Castro remains in power, he becomes less weak politically.' But U.S. officials do think their economic squeeze on the island is making Cuba, as one puts it, 'look a lot less rich than it otherwise might' to other Latin lands. And that is a major aim of the U.S. trade embargo. . . ."**

*—Wall St. Journal, "Troubled Cuba", April 16*

## How to Speak to the National Press Club and Keep Every Word You Say Out of Print

**Q. On the basis of your experience with Castro, would you classify him as a wild-eyed irrational kook?**

**A. Castro is crazy like a fox. Castro has been brilliantly —there is no adverb I can think of that is more appropriate—playing the U.S. against Russia, and both against Communist China, for some years and with considerable success. The fact is that whether or not various elements in the U.S. want to realize it, the island of Cuba belongs to Castro. These oversimplifications of Castro being a pawn of Khrushchev are simply absurd. His relationship with Khrushchev can be likened to looking through two ends of a telescope. Khrushchev may be looking through his end and seeing how Castro is serving his purposes, but I can assure you Castro is looking through his end and he knows how he is using Khrushchev.**

**Q. Do you believe Communist Cuba will develop a viable economy and is the U.S. missing the boat by not maintaining political and commercial contact with the Cuban people?**

**A. The Cuban economy has been in very great difficulty. This has been due to a variety of factors, especially at the outset to a shortage of spare parts since virtually everything in Cuba came from the U.S. I am not in a position to appraise how effective the embargo has been. It has not deterred a number of our allies from making an honest dollar. I am sure, however, of this: No one is hungry in Cuba.**

**He also unquestionably has been growing in strength. His primary drive has been toward the youth of Cuba. Lenin once said, 'Give me the children of a country for four years and I can assure its future.' Castro is now in his sixth year with these children. There is no question that among them, whether one wishes to attribute it to the government schools, the heavy indoctrination and characterize it as brain-wash—however one wants to characterize it—there is no question but that the youth of Cuba, whatever they may think of the Communist party or Maxism, they are fanatically devoted to Fidel.**

**And I may add that, in my judgment, Cuba today is more Cuban and Latin than Marxist.**

***—James B. Donovan, who negotiated release of the Bay of Pigs prisoners, before the National Press Club, April 10, in questions and answers few newspapers reported, perhaps on the principle that anything good said of Castro, is (as Orwell might have said) un-news.***



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# How Planning May Provide More, Not Less, Economic Freedom

(Continued from Page One)

under the impact of war-created demand in 1918-19, 1943-45 and 1951-53. The one exception to this pattern is the year 1926, the one time this level was reached in a truly peacetime economy. The record suggests that our free enterprisers left to themselves will never achieve this goal. Yet, as the majority points out, "Countries such as Sweden, France, West Germany and Japan have, by aggressive monetary, taxation and expenditure policies maintained a high level of production and unemployment levels below 2% by U.S. definitions." In all these countries, though in varying ways, the central government has set out goals and planned to reach them. Their high growth rate and our lag testifies to the effectiveness of planning in a mixed society.

## What Only Government Can Do

This does not mean, as the minority insists, replacement of "decentralized decision-making by millions of individuals and businesses." *It does mean establishing a mechanism for making the kind of decisions no individual business man can make.* No individual business, no matter how powerful, can take the decisions required to end the decay of a whole region, as in Appalachia, or to raise a whole segment of the population out of misery and into the normal market. Business men understand this very well when it comes to the kind of government interference they like; our network of tariffs and subsidies represents central planning for their benefit. What they fight against is central decision-making in the social sphere, for the benefit of the poorer classes, though experience at home and abroad has shown that they too benefit by it. Such central decision-making would not replace decentralized decision by individuals but provide a better context for those decisions. Let me illustrate.

The individual shoe manufacturer cannot figure that he could sell a million more pair of shoes if Harlem and Appalachia were released from poverty. He has to make his output decisions on the basis of the restricted market which is the only one he can count on. Only the central government can decide to set production goals in the wider terms of human need and then take the steps to make these goals possible by guaranteeing the necessary purchasing power. The setting of the goals themselves gives the decentralized decision makers confidence that they can expand output without going broke on unsold surpluses.

This is what the majority means when it says that one of the lessons to be drawn from foreign experience "is that policy measures which set overall goals and determine overall rates of employment growth and price stability without involving Government in the market process may result in more rather than less economic freedom." How explain this seeming paradox? "Once assured of full employment and production," the majority report continues, "labor organizations and private firms have been less given to restrictive practices or monopolistic tendencies and have therefore required a lesser degree of government control."

(More on This Next Week)

## Alsop's Latest

**To the delight of Senators Smathers and Eastland, Joseph Alsop has discovered that the civil rights movement is being infiltrated by Communists. Martin Luther King, CORE and SNNC were all given the treatment in his column April 15. Next day Smathers hailed Alsop in the Senate as a "totally responsible" journalist. The adverb seems a little strong for those who remember Alsop's role in propagating the bomber and missile gap myths. Smathers said he was writing J. Edgar Hoover for more details and on April 18 Eastland told the Senate, "He (Alsop) is saying the same thing Jim Eastland has said since the 1954 Supreme Court decision." This new Alsop scoop, like his bomber and missile gap campaigns and his famous discovery that people in China were eating after-births, seems to be an intelligence agency leak.**

**We cannot imagine anything more foolish for our foolish intelligence agencies to do than to trot out the tired old Red scare against the civil rights movement. We cannot imagine anything likely to enrage Negroes more than the hint that they are being, somehow, artificially "agitated." It is not ideology, it is frustration and despair which are tearing the civil rights movement apart and driving it to wild words and action. A silly column like Alsop's can only add to the self-destructively blind rage of those who have lost faith in white men's comprehension.**

**Next Week: The Clark and Appalachia Reports and the Socialist Party's Conference on Poverty**

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